PEACE NEWS

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The Aldermaston Charter:

END THE RISK OF TOTAL WAR

This is the text of the "Charter for Nuclear Disarmament" delivered to 10 Downing Street and Lambeth Palace as 15,000 Aldermaston Marchers drew near Trafalgar Square on Easter Monday. Twenty-six prominent supporters of the Campaign signed an appeal published in The Sunday Observer on Easter Sunday declaring that war or the threat of war as a method of settling disputes "must be now abandoned if life on this planet is to continue."

IN FAITH AND IN REASON, **we affirm our conviction that nuclear arms are wholly evil**; that, short of war, their very existence imperils present and future generations; and that, in the event of war, nations which condone their use will be committing suicide and will be guilty of the murder of the rest of mankind.

And we declare our aim:

TO SECURE THEIR TOTAL ABOLITION.

To that end:

WE CALL UPON THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT TO RENOUNCE THE TESTING, MANUFACTURE AND USE OF NUCLEAR ARMS AND TO DO SO INDEPENDENTLY AS A LEAD TO NEGOTIATIONS, AND NOT AS A CONDITION THEREOF.

Knowing . . .

. . . that, by the Government's own avowal, there is no defence for the people of this country in a nuclear war;

. . . that retaliation will mean the ruthless annihilation of other innocent people;

. . . that every argument used by Britain to justify her possession of nuclear arms is valid for other countries who do not yet possess them;

. . . that fears engendered by nuclear threats are turning every international disagreement into a crisis and increasing the risks of total war;

. . . that the waste of money, manpower and materials on nuclear arms is crippling Britain as an industrial atomic nation, which should be developing the peaceful uses for the benefit of mankind.

And believing . . . that this is the time for greatness; and that Britain, by its example, can give moral and political leadership to the world;

WE, THE SUPPORTERS OF THE CAMPAIGN FOR NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT, PLEDGE OURSELVES TO THIS, THE COMMON CAUSE OF ALL MANKIND.

MARCHING ON

THE popular revolt against war is growing. Bank Holiday London turned out to cheer the 15,000 Aldermaston marchers into Trafalgar Square last Monday—as onlookers had stood and cheered over much of the four-day route.

Peace News sellers, Peace News posters were conspicuous all the way. No other paper was so magnificently served by its supporters. "It looked like a Peace News march," somebody said. And so indeed it was, if parentage of last year's first Aldermaston march decides the issue.

THREE THOUSAND PEACE NEWS WERE SOLD—and there were not enough to go round. A very big "thank you" to all concerned.

THIS IS ONLY A BEGINNING. Press, radio and TV reports have made Aldermaston "news" all over the world. We appeal to every reader to follow up this splendid week-end by a new personal drive for more Peace News readers. Before the march many readers decided that pacifism could best be "got across" by selling Peace News (the results show how right they were!). Now the real challenge of the march must be "got across" to people everywhere—and no paper gives as wide a coverage, or debates the issues more thoroughly, than Peace News.

MARCH ON FROM ALDERMASTON. There must be more meetings, more demonstrations, intensified personal witness, canvassing and literature stalls in markets. And PEACE NEWS must be there every time and all the time.

MORE MARCH PICTURES

by Roger Mayne and

REPORT

PAGE FIVE

Left: The marchers pray before setting out from Aldermaston. Top: Saturday morning sunshine at Reading.

KENYA CAMEO I

By Eileen Fletcher

Quaker Eileen Fletcher was a rehabilitation officer in Kenya.

"THE WHITE HIGHLANDS ARE OUR BIRTHRIGHT." It is reported that these words were written on a banner carried by a little group of African women who waited at the airport last year to meet Lennox Boyd when he arrived in Kenya.

It was an extremely brave gesture on the part of the women, not only because any such action on the part of a few blacks needs courage under white domination, but chiefly because until quite recently the African woman in Kenya has been thought of little account.

Most people in England know by now of the unfortunate way in which the White Highlands were alienated from the African and of the bitterness resulting, but it is not so widely known what effect this has had in the Reserves into which the Africans have been crowded.

Recent reports from informed Europeans in Kenya show how terribly overcrowded the Kikuyu reserve is, the average population being well over 300 per square mile compared to 60 in England and 42 in rural Denmark. In some parts of Kikuyuland it is as much as 600 to 700 and in one part as much as 1,000 per square mile. No wonder there is always widespread malnutrition and at times starvation. It seems particularly reprehensible that White settlers are crying out for more people to go out from England and are offering all sorts of inducements to them, instead of allowing a few African farmers of proved worth to take up the unused land in the White Highlands. Enough land for mere existence is surely an African right in his own country!

Capital punishment in the USA today

Charlie Walker is Middle Atlantic Secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, Associate Editor of Liberation magazine, and Editor of the newsletter "Capital Punishment in Pennsylvania."

THE yearly number of executions in the United States reached an all-time low in 1958. Figures just released by the Federal Bureau of Prisons show 48 executions in 1958. This compares with 65 in the two previous years, a drop of 26 per cent.

Thus, the downward trend in the application of the death penalty in this country continues. There has been a gradual but definite decline from 199 executions in 1935, to 117 in 1945, 76 in 1955 and the new low of 48 last year.

With the coming of Alaska into the union, eight states are now considered "abolition states." Michigan was the first, in 1847, abolishing capital punishment for murder but retaining it for treason. Five states have abolished it completely: Minnesota, Maine, Wisconsin, Delaware and Alaska. North Dakota retains the death penalty for treason and permits it for first-degree murder committed by a prisoner serving a life sentence for first-degree murder. Rhode Island permits the death penalty only for one situation; it is mandatory for murder committed by a prisoner serving a life sentence.

Abolition states

However, the three states of Michigan, North Dakota and Rhode Island have executed no one since the original dates of abolition, so for practical purposes may be considered abolition states.

There is also no death penalty in Puerto Rico, Hawaii and the Virgin Islands. It does apply in the District of Columbia.

In only 15 of the 49 states was the death penalty applied last year. Of these 15 states, four of them—California, Georgia, Ohio and Texas—led the nation with six executions each, together accounting for half the year's total. Since 1930, Georgia leads with 348, New York comes next with 315, Texas and California with 265 and North Carolina with 262. In 1952 there were 31 separate capital offences on the books, Georgia leading with 14.

The most significant impetus to the abolition cause in the US recently came with Delaware's action in April of 1958. Govenor Caleb Boggs signed into law a Bill completely outlawing capital punishment for any crime. Delaware became the first state to take such a step since North Dakota in 1915, more than 40 years ago.

Setback in Oregon

In December, a state commission in Massachussetts, appointed by the legislature in 1957, made its report. A majority of ten in a 15-man commission reported strongly for abolition. Significant hearings were held in New Jersey, where expert testimony built up a solid record of facts and analysis, including testimony for abolition by leading correctional officials in the state.

The most serious setback to the advocates of abolition came in Oregon. Between 1914 and 1920 the death penalty was illegal in that State. In 1957 the legislature passed an abolition Bill. It was signed by Governor Holmes and placed on the ballot in 1958 as a constitutional amendment. It was defeated by a margin of about 10,000 votes, or 2 per cent of the total.

Three sensational criminal cases this year highlighted the issue. The Foster case in Georgia made national headlines. James Foster, accused of killing Charles Drake in June, 1956, had been convicted of first-degree murder and sentenced to the electric chair. The widow of Drake positively identified Foster as the man she saw murdering her husband. In July of last year, Charles Rothschild, a former policeman from Illinois serving a sentence in a South Carolina jail, confessed to the killing. Foster was freed after spending 29 months in the death row.

The Jimmy Wilson case in Alabama became an international *cause célèbre*. A Negro boy, Wilson, one night broke into the home of a white woman and stole $1.95. In Alabama, armed robbery when persons are in the house is punishable by death. After receiving a deluge of letters and telegrams, as well as an inquiry by Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, Governor Folsom commuted the Wilson sentence. In Massachussetts, Jack Chester hanged himself in his cell the day before Governor Furcolo planned to announce commutation on the basis of insanity.

In October, the highly regarded television programme "Omnibus" inaugurated its autumn season by a powerful attack on capital punishment. With attorney Joseph Welch, noted adversary of the late Senator McCarthy, acting as moderator, viewers were shown clinical details of how an electrocution is carried out, as well as a vivid portrayal of the failure of deterrence. Producers of the programme reported a high volume of mail, generally favourable to the programme's point of view.

Trips to gas chamber

A well publicised movie "I Want To Live," starring the talented Susan Hayward, deals a heavy blow at capital punishment. It centres on the celebrated California case of Barbara Graham, convicted and executed in the gas chamber for a particularly brutal murder. Two interrupted trips to the gas chamber, before the final and fatal trip, make for emotion-packed drama. Ed Montgomery, Pulitzer prize winning reporter, claims to have documented proof that Barbara Graham was convicted on perjured testimony, while other magazine articles debunk Montgomery's claims. Both the movie and the Hayward performance have been nominated for an "Oscar," the leading film award.

Recently Governor Frank Clement, of Tennessee, keynote speaker at the last Democratic presidential convention, made a strong speech for abolition of the death penalty in that state. Three religious groups took formal stands recently for abolition: Reform Jewish Rabbis, the American Baptist Convention and the Protestant Episcopal Church.

Abolition Bills are "in the works" in California, Connecticut, Illinois, New Jersey, New York and Pennsylvania. There is a new United Nations Seminar on Capital Punishment, under the direction of Dr. Manuel Lopez Rey, of Uruguay, Chief of the UN Social Defence Section. Since the Seminar will operate out of New York, its findings are likely to be well publicised here.

It is likely that more states will soon end the death penalty, as campaigns against it gain new impetus from these recent events. At any rate, this issue, long relatively dormant, is definitely on the map again.

A WARNING FROM THE LIMBLESS

By Sam Walsh

Sam Walsh is Chairman of the Exeter British Limbless Ex-Servicemen's Association, and lost an arm and leg during the 1914-18 War.

Long Shadows, by George Warburton Sizer and Vera Brittain. A. Brown and Sons, 12s. 6d.

MY brotherly interest in this novel about men who have lost limbs in warfare, and their self-sacrificing womenfolk, has been enhanced by the sympathetic contribution of Vera Brittain.

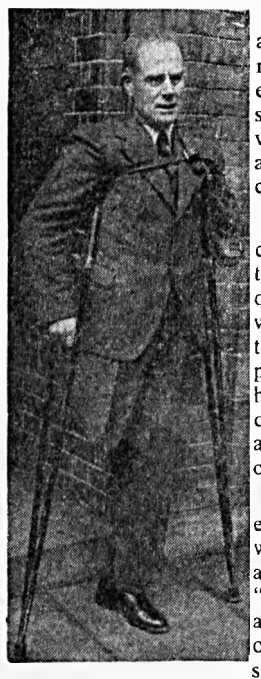
While Mr. Sizer has disciplined himself into offering as near objective a study as clearly autobiographical inspiration permits, Miss Brittain not only urges that every help be given the limbless, but that we should take warning from their experience and see to it that war is cast aside as completely and irrevocably as must be amputated limbs otherwise.

This is not a tale about heroes. It is about heroines, beautifully and understandingly drawn. There is no colourful "dash over the top," nor brilliantly executed manœuvres planned by heavily decorated staffs on Union-Jack studded maps.

★

The story opens with Private Edward Pallister prostrate in the all too familiar shell hole of the 1918 battlefield, with a leg wide open from hip to knee. Amputation at the thigh follows a series of agonising attempts to stem steadily advancing gangrene.

Step by hesitating step the 22-years-old victim struggles to regain physical and mental balance; the first with the aid of a pitifully inadequate substitute for nature's bone, flesh and blood in the shape of a clumsy artificial leg: the second with the help of his boyhood sweetheart Jessie, unfussily seeing nothing incompatible with her girlhood dreams in marrying a man with literally one foot in the grave.



Sam Walsh

Neither Edward Pallister himself nor his generation were alone in such endurance. If it seems that Mr. Sizer has too plentifully peopled "Long Shadows" with amputees and stretched coincidence beyond the legitimate limit in depriving the Pallisters' own son of an eye and an arm in the Second World War, this reviewer can aver that such superabundance has factual basis. Of my last school class in 1910 four of the lads lost legs in the 1914-18 war; and there is more than one instance of father and son members of the British Limbless Ex-Service Men's Association.

In this human history in the form of fiction, above the creaking of artificial limbs, with their irksome pull of shoulder straps and steel pelvic bands, as men sweat and strain to achieve normal gait and to grasp at life afresh with split hooks and dummy hands, there is the steady beat of hearts high with hope as tenderly encouraging wives reinforce the grim resolution of men who have found in the fiercely competitive post-war world ironic fulfilment of the war-time politicians' promise of a land fit for (none other than) heroes to live in.

★

It has so long been evident that people are rarely frightened out of war and so regularly frightened into it, that it is interesting to find a novelist who hopes to shame folk out of the witless virility of warfare which he recognises is a stultifying activity frustrating every good aim of the common man.

While, except for the employment of the conventional explosive expletive here and there, and a short discussion of the theme of authority urging men to mass murder while condemning to the scaffold the war trained who commit individual murder on private account, Mr. Sizer is content with his earnestly evocative story's implicit condemnation of war, Miss Brittain contributes an explicit interpretation of the "meaning of it all."

Eloquently drawing upon her intimate experience of the tragic folly of two major wars, Miss Brittain holds up to clear analysis the cherished mental and spiritual "compensation" of our poetic Brookes and Binyons and the official glorification of the stark reality lying below the emerald surface of beautifully turfed military cemeteries. Neglecting no note of the whole gamut of war, she stresses particularly, without one word of mawkish pity, the prophetic nature of the disfigurement of those of us who were only half killed, and the consequent incumbence on all to become fully adult and banish the grievous effects of war for evermore.

FOOTNOTE.—*The proceeds of this book will be given to the Kingston-upon-Hull Combined Services Welfare Trust for disbursement among ex-service organisations and other war charities.*

"I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another"
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TAKING GANDHI TO INDIA

THE Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., the American Negro leader of the boycott of segregated buses in Montgomery, Alabama, arrived with Mrs. King in new Delhi on February 9.

They toured India for a month at the invitation of the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi. Our picture shows them with Prime Minister Nehru.

The following are extracts from an editorial article, "A Good Journey to Martin Luther King, Jr.," which appeared in the February issue of the American independent monthly Liberation (110, Christopher St., New York 14):

Because of his leadership of the Montgomery bus protest (and later of the Southern Christian Leaders Conference) and because of attacks upon his home and his person, Dr. King, although still a very young man, has become a public and symbolic figure.

He is indeed a fitting "ambassador" from the United States to the land of Gandhi . . . a living, not a paper, messenger, because he challenged, along with his people, the evil of racism, which is still an integral part of American society, which affects all aspects of our society, distorting and to a serious degree corrupting our political, economic, artistic, educational and religious life.

We are still far from a solution of the problem. But Martin Luther King is the symbol of the fact that the evil has been exposed, challenged, fought by the Negro people.

He is a fitting ambassador, in the second place, because he has fought nonviolently and in love, and thus famaliarised the United States and the Western world, as no one else has, with the Gandhian philosophy and method.

It is the combination of a concern for a basic change in society with a firm adherence to the method of non-violence and the imaginative practise of it which is the significant thing in Dr. King's career.

Today it is not possible to separate the struggle for basic social justice and the practice of non-violence from the struggle to prevent war.

Dr. King has by no means been silent on war resistance, but understandably it has not been up to now a central part of his message and activity. We hope that no specious notions about sticking to one job, for example, will keep Martin Luther King, when he returns to this country, from addressing himself to the one comprehensive task of our times: the non-violent struggle to end war and social injustice and to build a society of true brotherhood.

If in a deeper sense than before he will symbolise, when he returns, this inclusive and penetrating vision, this creative combination, then his present journey will herald a great advance in the career of a man already marked by fate.

What is more important, it may prove the introduction to a new era for the non-violent revolution in our own country against injustice and war.

It would be impossible to exaggerate the need of such a new impetus or the baleful results for this nation and for the world if that impetus is not given, whether by Martin Luther King or by others.

KENYA CAMEO II

By Eileen Fletcher

The civilised world has been shocked and revolted by events in Little Rock, Arkansas, and the lengths to which some white people have gone to prevent the Negroes from going to the white school, which US Federal law allows.

To justify our own criticism we must set our own affairs in order. In Kenya—a British colony—we have not even got as far as universal education, let alone integration.

Figures published in Kenya in 1955 showed that 870,000 African children reach adolescence without any schooling being available for them. In Nairobi alone there were no school places for 7,000 African children. A Kenya Government report published the same year showed that those who did go to school could mostly only stay for four years, places for only a small proportion being provided beyond that. Moreover, education is not free, it must be paid for, although another Government report showed that the average annual African wage was £48.

Every single European candidate for the Legislative Council stated that he was against multi-racial schools. (This is all the more odd since a small privately run one in Nairobi is remarkably successful.)

LET NOT THE POT CALL THE KETTLE BLACK !

FROM EACH . . . TO EACH

THE Peace Pledge Union has never made the payment of an annual subscription a condition of membership, although it has naturally relied on members to give what they can towards to spread of pacifism in this and other countries.

We have built up a valuable list of voluntary annual subscribers, and in addition we rely on donations received, especially in response to the annual appeal and to the appeals for Headquarters Fund. "From each according to his ability."

Our Hon. Treasurers have just sent out a special appeal asking all members to raise, in addition to our normal requirements, a substantial part of the £2,255 required to put Dick Sheppard House in a proper state of repair. Annual subscribers are being asked, where possible, to double their subscriptions this year: others to make an even more generous response to the annual appeal than usual. "From each according to his ability."

There are, however, readers of Peace News and other friends of the PPU who will not have received either of these appeals. If this applies to you, then I want to make a very special appeal to you. The needs of the PPU are really the needs of all of us. We not only desire but need peace, and it is the task of the PPU to point to the only realistic way to peace. If you are not a member of the PPU you may feel no special responsibility for helping to keep the headquarters of our Union in a proper state of repair, but you will still feel the need of real peacemaking. It is that for which I ask your generous help. "To each according to his need, from each according to his ability."

STUART MORRIS.
General Secretary.

Our aim for 1959: £1,250.
Amount received to date: £312.

Donations to the Peace Pledge Union, which are used for the work of the PPU, should be sent marked "Headquarters Fund," to the PPU Treasurer at Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1.

Alternative to cold war wins support in U.S.

Stewart Meacham, Director of the Labour International Affairs Programme of the American Friends Service Committee, writes about the group of twenty Americans who recently published two whole-page advertisements in the US press calling for a new foreign policy including an end to tests, demilitarisation of tension areas, recognition of China, increased aid, through UN, to other countries. "War with modern weapons," the first advertisement declared, "means total destruction and therefore offers no solution to anything. We are in greater peril of annihilation than we were when the cold war started. . . We reject the dogma that humanity stops where the iron curtain begins."

LAST May, when Sir Stephen King-Hall was in the United States under the auspices of the American Friends Service Committee, a group of prominent citizens from various walks of life was called together by Clarence Pickett for an all-day meeting devoted to American foreign policy. Sir Stephen presented his ideas about defence in the nuclear age, and this was a lively stimulus to the discussion, which ranged rather widely over the entire area of America's commitments in the cold war and their significance.

The group was made up of about 20 persons, including prominent figures in the field of education, journalism, government and politics. Following this meeting, a number of smaller meetings were held, and in September, 1958, another larger conference was held at Saratoga Springs, NY, over a week-end. As a result of these discussions, a statement was drafted and published in The New York Times last October.

Later, The New York Times' statement was published in The Denver Post and in The Nation magazine. The statement in The Washington Post, which was published in the form of an appeal to the Congress and which coincided with the opening of the 86th Congress in January, was largely in response to a number of inquiries which came following the first statement.

A positive way

People said, in effect, "We think it's fine that you are pointing out the weaknesses of our cold war foreign policy, but what do you propose in a positive way?" The appeal to the Congress statement was an effort to deal with the positive. The Washington Post statement has also been published in The Nation magazine.

The best indication of the response that we have received is in the contributions which have come for publication of further statements and also in the letters which have been received. The total cost of the advertising which we have run so far is about $6,500. Initially, we received a large contribution of $2,500, and all of the subsequent advertising has been paid for out of contributions that have come in in response to the various published statements.

We now have a balance of approximately $1,400. In other words, if we disregard the initial contribution of $2,500, we can say that the financial contributions in response to the advertisements have totalled something in the neighbourhood of $5,500. By far the greater part of these contributions have been in small denominations. We have received three contributions of $200 each, one of $125, and two of $100 each. With the exception of two contributions of $50 each, most of the rest have been $20 or less. By far the largest number of contributions have been $5 or less.

Letters of support

We have been greatly heartened by the fact that many of the people who have responded (something over 800 people have responded in all) have taken the time to write fairly lengthy letters in which they have expressed their own ideas, and many of them have been most outspoken in welcoming this initiative.

Thus far it has been the will of the group participating in these statements that no formal committee or organisation should be set up, but that statements should be issued from time to time, as the need seems to arise, bearing the signatures of those who may wish to sign. We believe that this rather loose approach has made it possible for many people to come along with us who probably would have shied away from an organisational commitment.

Copies of the appeal to the Congress were mailed to each member of the Congress, with a covering letter from Clarence Pickett. Many of the responses which have been received from them indicate something more than a mere perfunctory acknowledgement of a routine appeal.

We do not yet have a clear breakthrough in the American Congress.

As yet there is no significant group of the members who have reached the point of advocating a clear alternative to the cold war approach. However, there are strong signs that the discontent with cold war policies is growing and we are hopeful that this will find stronger and more clear expression in the future. We feel that Senator Fulbright's designation as Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee is a hopeful sign, and we have been gratified with recent statements by Senator Mansfield.

We probably will be issuing additional statements in the future.

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AFTER THE MARCH

THEY MARCHED IN THOUSANDS. Nobody expected such a huge demonstration on the road from Aldermaston. Hundreds cheered from the roadside. Thousands greeted them in London. Millions heard about it from Press, radio and television.

The Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament achieved an outstanding success last week-end. Anyone who feels any responsibility towards his fellow men must have pondered this week the message of the marchers.

Certainly the leaders of the political Parties went to bed on Monday night with a headache. The most dynamic movement in the country had just completed its most compelling demonstration.

* *

WHERE DO THE MARCHERS go from here? These protests are not an end in themselves, and it is important to consider how their final success can be achieved.

Preparations for World War III are based upon the monstrous assumption that in certain situations the death of much of the world's population will be necessary.

War preparations are themselves ensuring that just such situations can occur any day.

Those who today demand the renunciation of these appalling weapons are meeting the threat of total war in the spirit of personal responsibility. They are asserting their conviction that human beings matter.

* *

AFTER THE MARCH ways must be sought to emphasise this fundamental truth.

It is scientists and workers who make these weapons in our factories, who build the rocket bases. They must be encouraged to quit.

It is ordinary men and women who silently accept preparation for destruction. They must be challenged in every city, in every village, to consider the choice they have in fact made, and to act for peace.

It is politicians who create these policies. They must not be supported.

Much of the emphasis of this year's Aldermaston March was upon the coming General Election. Voters should not be expected to vote for candidates regardless of their views on this supreme question, in the hope that nuclear weapons will somehow eventually become a political issue with debates and divisions in Parliament.

If people really matter, ordinary citizens must make policies; MPs must be elected who will act politically against these weapons by voting against them.

★ ★

WE HAVE SUPPORTED the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament in Britain for no uncertain reasons.

- **Nuclear weapons have stirred the imaginations of people to an extraordinary extent, and have started to break down in their minds the barriers which readily prevent a fundamentally new approach to the problem of war.**
- **The Campaign has attacked the assumptions of present foreign policy with the realistic alternative of unilateral action.**
- **Nuclear disarmament by Britain means a complete withdrawal from the power struggle and its military alliances. Such is the tremendous power of nuclear weapons that once they are abandoned, other weapons become just so much useless junk. Inefficient militarism is demonstrable foolishness.**

These considerations have led us to welcome the Campaign as a genuine mass movement for war-resistance in the Nuclear Age.

The future of the Campaign will probably be shaped in the coming year; after the march no opportunity must be missed to build upon this Easter's triumph.

Tibetan revolt

CONSIDERING how incompatible the ways of Tibet are with those of modern China, the Chinese Republic lost a great part even of its sympathisers' good will when it marched into Tibet in 1950 and enforced ancient sovereignty rights which had long been considered to have lapsed.

The fact itself of the recent rebellion, which seems to have been suppressed in a way rather reminiscent of the Russian action in Hungary in 1956, is therefore in no way surprising. But one cannot help wondering at the foolishness of the usually wise Chinese in not avoiding the development of a situation in which they are in open clash with the Dalai Lama. It is to be hoped that the reports according to which he and his immediate entourage, including six Cabinet Ministers, are safe will turn out to be correct.

To realise what it would mean to the Tibetans if the Dalai Lama were killed, imprisoned or even only treated with disrespect, imagine what would happen in a deeply religious Catholic country if someone were to lay hands on the Pope—and even that does not quite measure up to what the Dalai Lama stands for in Tibet.

There is probably no other country in the world which would have begun a rebellion against a hated occupation régime in quite so naïve a manner as that adopted by the Tibetans. Without one single preparatory step towards violence, their Supreme Cabinet unanimously denounced the 17-point treaty with China on account of "persistent violation" by the Chinese, and called on them to withdraw their forces. The distribution of arms to insurgents came days later, after Chinese military action.

Although the rebellion is now reported to have been completely suppressed (except in inaccessible parts of the country), this is not likely to mean the end of Tibetan resistance to all the changes China stands for.

As a not unimportant side issue, the Chinese have also damaged their relations with India—hitherto one of their best real friends—and they have made it easier for the opponents of China's admission to the United Nations to get away with this obvious denial of a fundamental right.

Uncertain Summit

IT is evident that the Summit meeting is not yet "in the bag." While the whole world, with the exception of some fanatics, seems agreed by this time that negotiations have become necessary, last week brought news of some disconcerting statements by Mr. Macmillan's Western associates.

At Washington, President Eisenhower implied, in the course of his first Press conference since Mr. Macmillan's visit, that he had not definitely undertaken to attend a Summit conference this summer. He seemed to be going back to the old standpoint that he would go to such a conference only if the Foreign Ministers' conference had made practically certain of the success of the Summit meeting.

The difficulty this raises is enormous. The issues to be settled between the two sides go far beyond the powers of decision of Foreign Ministers in all cases except possibly that of Mr. Dulles for the United States.

The very usefulness of a Summit meeting lies in the fact that it is the Summit people who are brought face to face, get to know each other and themselves have to do the bargaining; and President Eisenhower's attitude is the exact opposite of what the present world condition calls far. If the Foreign Ministers' conference is a resounding success, no Summit meeting at all may be necessary; if it is a total failure, the need for the Summit meeting will be all the greater.

From Washington to Paris. There President de Gaulle, after stating that "he has no objection to a Summit meeting if it is properly prepared," added that France, with the support of Germany and Italy, would insist on so tough a line at the Foreign Ministers' conference "as to make the chances of its success highly doubtful." For good measure, he added a warning to Russia. Any attempt to bar the route to Berlin would be "a hostile act, and Russia would be responsible for anything that happened." No one has ever doubted President de Gaulle's bravery. It was not necessary to give new proof of his total lack of a sense of humour.

To complete the record of things which need not have been said at this juncture, Bonn has announced that Chancellor Adenauer has received a personal message from Mr. Macmillan assuring him that Britain has no intention of blocking the atomic arming of the West German forces.

And Mr. Macmillan himself, in the House of Commons, did not dare to go further than to say "everybody seems to think" that there will be a Summit meeting after the Foreign Ministers' conference.

Lord Perth's account

IN Lord Perth's account of what he found in Nyasaland there is a certain artlessness that helps to present the basic issues involved more clearly than would be the case if he were a politician of greater adroitness.

He does not seek to cover up that Central African Federation was imposed upon the people of Nyasaland against their will. But he further makes it clear that in the intervening years since 1953 their antagonism to federation has not become any less

So far from conceding that this provides a compelling reason why the British Government should honour its undertaking that federation should not be finally imposed on this people against their will, he holds that this is just what must happen. "We must go on," he said in the Lords debate last week. We must "hope that in time people will understand just what is the value and what is the meaning of federation. I am convinced our policy must continue to be federation. I am convinced it is for the good of the people."

The Nyasaland people do not see the promise of what Lord Perth calls "partnership" with the same eyes as he sees it. They have an intense dislike of what is being done to them. They are full of fear and distrust, and they hold that the British Government is in process of betraying them.

They have an overwhelming desire to reject federation, but, claims Lord Perth, they have got to have it. Whatever may be the views of the Nyasaland people on the matter Sir Roy Welensky's Government and Lord Perth know what is good for them, and whether they like it or not Lord Perth joins with Sir Roy in the resolve to force upon them the blessings in store for them.

There is a simple question Lord Perth might ask himself. The Hungarian people in 1956 made it evident that they had an acute dislike for the form of government under which they were living.

The Government of Mr. Khrushchov, with the Government set up under Mr. Kadar, however, knew that the Hungarian people were wrong! It would be much to their advantage if they were not permitted to have the form of government that they themselves desired, but were compelled to have that which Messrs. Khrushchov and Kadar knew would be to their benefit! Both these gentlemen felt themselves to be fully justified for they were "convinced it was for the good of the people."

Presumably Lord Perth sees nothing wrong with this. If, however, he should find anything to disapprove of in it he might like to show in what way it differs from his own attitude to the people of Nyasaland.

"Moral appeal"

WE are sometimes told that it is naive to talk about "moral appeal" when we advocate unilateral disarmament. People, the argument goes, would not recognise or respond to any such appeal.

This is a curious view, because it is precisely to moral appeal that resort is made when citizens are urged to support military policies of comparable significance. Whenever men are conscripted for war, their acquiescence is sought by "moral" arguments: right, they are told, is on their side, or God marches at the head of their armies.

INPERSPECTIVE

This instinct to recognise the force of a moral appeal is always open to abuse, as the war propaganda experts have learned. Repeated and flagrant abuses of this instinct indicate the miserable condition into which politics have sunk.

We had an exceptionally clear example last week. Addressing a Labour demonstration in Manchester, Mr. Aneurin Bevan said: "The Labour Party believes there is something fundamentally wicked in H-bomb tests being carried out by people. We have no right to poison other people, even if it is in our own interests to do it."

This would clearly appear to be a categorical rejection of testing on moral grounds. Mr. Bevan gave just such an impression at the Labour Party Conference at Scarborough last autumn. Such a renunciation has a very strong appeal these days as people learn more about the dangers of fall-out.

But in fact this is not Labour Party policy at all. The Party is committed merely to the *suspension* of tests, as its Election policy statement shows and as Mr. Gaitskell has recently confirmed. The Party reserves the right to continue testing nuclear weapons and therefore can hardly regard the issue as a moral one.

But the best that is in men is misled for the purposes of expediency. It is not surprising that the content of our democracy is lowered yet further as the most sensitive and public-spirited people are forced to meet such manipulation with bitter cynicism.

ALDERMASTON 1959

PEACE NEWS REPORTER

AFTER this year's Aldermaston march, we can certainly state that we have not silently said "yes" to the continued manufacture and testing of the H-bomb by the British Government.

Altogether, 15,000 people said a clear "no" to the Bomb, and a vast majority of these 15,000 were young people. As Donald Soper put it at the final demonstration in Trafalgar Square on Easter Monday. "We want the younger people not only here but in every country to know that there is a large body of young people who, in their hearts, have repudiated the evil of hydrogen bomb warfare."

But to concentrate on the overt message of the march would be to give the wrong impression. For it was not the meetings or the speeches that we remembered most—indeed, at the opening meeting in the Falcon Field, outside the Aldermaston Establishment, it seemed that very few people

were listening attentively to the speeches, as they wanted to get on with the march.

What we remembered most was the comradeship that was built up over the four days of the march. It was a comradeship that sprang out of shared experience; the same blistered and sore feet, enduring a wet and miserable Sunday, eating meals together, sharing the same hard floors for beds at night. Through this shared experience people came to know each other in a way that is not often possible. Once again, as in other demonstrations against the bomb, words like comradeship came alive.

It is this developing sense of comradeship among people who are taking part in the campaign that may prove to be the most revolutionary effect of all. It gives people confidence in each other; they know that they are in the same fight and that in that fight a common strength is being developed. The individual both realises that he can act creatively and that in this act he has the support of many other people.

Comparisions with last year's march were inevitable. The most obvious was in numbers. It was here that this year's march was most triumphantly a success. 5,000 people marched from Aldermaston to Reading on the first day; on Saturday over 3,000 people marched from Reading to Slough; just under 3,000 marched from Slough to Chiswick on the Sunday despite the continuous rain; and then on Easter Monday nearly 15,000 people marched into Trafalgar Square to meet the 5,000 people already gathered there. This was surely a sign that the campaign against the bomb is not static, but alive and growing.

Pavement comments

There were more people this year who came out to meet the march. In Reading, in Maindenhead, in Slough, and throughout London they lined the pavements. Some people were hostile. "I've been held up for five minutes by a lot of conscientious objectors," said one man; others were favourable. "You're doing a good job," said one old woman as we passed her. But most of the people were silent and it was very hard to know what they were thinking. This perhaps was our greatest frustration. They knew what we were against, but what about them. We wanted to say something to them, something that would make them think and, perhaps, act. But we couldn't stop. Perhaps we should go back sometime?

Hostile demonstrations were few. In Maidenhead a group of teddy boys followed the march jeering and snapping off the nuclear disarmament lollypops. On the road from Reading a group of smart young men held up counter posters saying "Stop marching, start thinking." Otherwise there was hardly any sign of opposition.

The average age of the marchers was much lower than last year; it must have been near 21. Just what effect this had on people, and particularly the politicians, it is hard to tell. It is possible that they thought we were a lot of youngsters out on a lark, who will settle down and become more sober when we grow older. This might well be partly true and it presents the Campaign with its greatest challenge. The young people now who are opposed to the bomb but who cannot give a coherent statement of their reasons must be encouraged to think about the wider implications of their stand. Unless they do this they might well be lost to us.

But these are questions for the future. For the moment we can rest assured that this year's Aldermaston march has made people in this country aware of the growing opposition to nuclear weapons. By this criterion alone this year's march was a tremendous success.

THE VEDANTA MOVEMENT

Lecture by

Swami Avyaktananda

on

HINDUISM OLD AND NEW

at Caxton Hall, Caxton Street, S.W.1

on Friday, April 10, at 7.30 p.m.

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BRITISH PEACE COMMITTEE

World refugees

THE first Gilbert Murray Memorial Lecture will be given by Dr. Auguste R. Lindt, UN High Commissioner for Refugees, at St. Edmund Hall, Oxford, tonight, Friday, April 3, at 8.15 p.m., at the opening of an Easter Conference arranged by the Oxford Committee for Famine Relief.

The conference, the first of its kind, has been called to consider the world refugee situation and to discuss future plans for effective relief work. Other speakers are Michael Hacking, Chief Information Officer, UNRWA; Major K. R. Cronin, of the Save the Children Fund; and Rev. K. L. Stumpf, of the Lutheran World Service in Hong Kong.

William Bayliss, Oxford Peace Pledge Union worker, who took part in the march through the city three years ago, has died at the age of 82. He was conscientious objector in World War I.

THE FALCON FIELD

A number of marchers who had brought instruments met together on the Falcon field at Aldermaston and formed a band which was one of the high spots of the march (centre), sharing honours with the West Indian steel band (top). Peace News supporters were prominent among the marchers; a poster bearer is seen (below) with a chimney of the atomic weapons plant in the background—Photos, Roger Mayne.

MAKING USEFUL THINGS WELL

Towards a peaceful society—III

By Margaret Tims

GOOD workmanship, practical ingenuity, sound economics and quality of living: there are the watchwords of the Crowan Pottery, near Camborne in Cornwall, which was started 12 years ago by two pacifists, Harry and May Davis.

The standard of workmanship is high, the pottery is always working to capacity, and could sell its products twice over without advertising. Over 30,000 pots a year are produced, 90 per cent of which are made by Harry Davis personally. The Davises have only one trained assistant, a young Swedish potter, and a 15-year-old apprentice, and occasional help from a local labourer.

Workshop not studio

Harry Davis started training when he was 16 at Broadstone Pottery, Dorset, and later went to the Bernard Leach Pottery, St. Ives. It was here that he met May Scott (grand-daughter of C. P. Scott), who became his wife. In 1937 he obtained a research and training appointment at Achimota College in the Gold Coast, where he worked for five years, his wife assisting him on one tour.

He regards himself first and last as a craftsman, and he makes it very clear that the pottery is a workshop and not a "studio." He describes the aim of Crowan as "to make useful things well, for ordinary people to enjoy at a reasonable price." Some of the Crowan products were recently displayed at the Design Centre, Haymarket, and a case of "seconds" was despatched to London for the Peace News Christmas bazaar.

The pottery is indeed very much a workshop, with quite a high concentration of machinery, much of which has been devised at small cost by the ingenuity of Mr. Davis. The building is a converted four-storied mill, and the original water-wheel

Crowan Pottery examples

has been adapted to drive the clay-mixing machinery and potter's wheels, and to provide electricity for the workshop and house. One diesel-engine has been installed to drive a rock-crusher and as an auxiliary source of power in the event of drought.

The Davises also grind and mix their own glazes from granites and other rocks. An old blacksmith's shop is used to make and repair equipment, and Harry Davis likes to tell how he built £350 worth of equipment for just over £100 for a West African student, who now owns the first entirely African-run factory in Ghana.

From their experience Harry and May Davis are convinced that the small workshop with its greater flexibility gives economic advantages, such as low administrative costs. The rural location is another factor in reducing overheads and making the exploitation of local resources possible. For the pottery this means cheap power (water) packing materials (low grade hay) and in Cornwall local rocks and minerals for glaze materials. The same principle operates on the domestic side, and the Davises have an acre of land on which they grow vegetables and keep goats to supply the family of four children.

Quality before reward

The Davises feel very strongly that the sacrifice in the quality of the worker's life caused by the indiscriminate use of mass-production methods needs very powerful economic reasons to justify it, and that these have not been proved. They believe also that quality of work is inseparable from quality of life. This realisation means that quality ranks before material reward—and from there, they say, it is only a short step to pacifism. They are both members of the Peace Pledge Union, which they joined in the 1930s through the influence of Dick Sheppard.

Crowan Pottery is a living proof that good workmanship is also good economics, and it is this argument that may ultimately convince the sceptical of its relevance to our whole way of life.

On the frontier

By the Rev. TOM WARDLE

THE rough treatment accorded Mr. Guy Clutton-Brock by the Central African federal authority has shocked many people deeply. Mr. Clutton-Brock is a man of high moral and religious reputation, and there is still in some people's minds a feeling that to hurt or insult a priest or religious worker is a particularly dreadful, not to say risky, thing to do.

In some parts of the world priests can enter the toughest quarters and command the most reprobate of men with impunity. Their persons are under such a powerful taboo that even the thug will think at least twice before laying hands upon them; but this is really a relic of the old religious situation. In the "newer" societies of the world it does not apply. The enmity shown to Father Huddleston, the contempt for Michael Scott and Clutton-Brock, the bombing of Luther King's house, all point to that different situation which some writers have called "post-Christian."

When we cease to hear of people being penalised for reasons of faith we must not conclude that the State is therefore Christian (that is a utopian impossibility), but simply that there are no prophets in the land.

◆ ◆ ◆

I HAVE been asked to speak at a youth conference on the subject of the moral problem created for a man who finds himself involved in a group or society whose values he in large part rejects. Particular interest centres in this problem as it applies to conscientious objection, but it also defines the position of a liberal in a Communist-dominated trade union, the monk who withdraws from "the world," and interestingly enough right now, the pacifist Labour Party supporter who endorses the Voters' Veto.

Like so many apparently new problems, it has echoes, if not origins, in Christian teaching. On the one hand there is a statement like that attributed to Peter in Acts 5, 29, "We must obey God rather than men" (RV), and on the other, statements like that of Paul in Romans 13, 1, "Let every soul be in subjection to the higher powers . . . the powers that be are ordained of God" (RV).

Most political controversialists are now admittedly far removed from any acceptance of the binding moral authority of the New Testament (and I am not here arguing that they should be otherwise), but the issue raised today in its political form is the direct descendant of that apparent Christian contradiction.

Taking the long view, however, the contradiction disappears and presents itself as a tension. Each man owes an obligation to society at large, and this obligation involves submission to its laws (even those he disagrees with); yet each man also owes an obligation to God (or conscience, in the secular interpretation).

There is never any perfect conformity between these two demands. From time to time they conflict blatantly, and then one has to make a choice. If this choice is made with the utmost integrity, then we may say that it is a *religious* decision (whichever way it is made). Fundamental religion seeks to bring men and women to make choices at this level of their being, not to determine for them what those choices shall be.

There is a widespread assumption among some people that clergymen should act as arbiters of social morality and that churches should issue moral *fiats* for the disciplining of the population; yet when this is done, it is often complained that the judgment is other than was expected, or else the church is accused of interfering.

As I see it, this misunderstanding arises from a confounding of Hebrew legalism with Christian liberty. Christians should call their fellows to deep and honest decision-making, not present them with codes of conduct. True prophetic action, by an individual or group, does not proclaim "this is what you must do," but rather, "this is the decision I have taken, will you not also decide?"

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Votes and the Bomb

MESSRS Swingler and Zilliacus in the New Statesman rightly point out that Labour cannot possibly fulfil its election programme *and* make nuclear weapons; they then argue that therefore the Labour Party will so desist.

History records that in 1945 the Labour Party's promises included a decisive stride towards the abolition of poverty and the Socialist Commonwealth; transformation of the Empire to a Commonwealth based on democracy and partnership; world peace based on friendship with the socialist countries.

We got bureaucratic nationalisation and the imprisonment of dock strike leaders; the 1948 Cyprus Constitution, the exile of Seretse Khama and the blue print for Central African Federation; the cold war, the A-bomb and the H-bomb blue print.

Now we are told that Labour (normally accepted as having moved to the Right) will reverse the precedent. I suggest that Victory for Socialism adopt as its slogan "Blessed are they that have not seen, and yet have believed": they might also stop calling pacifists Utopian idealists.—**LAURENS OTTER, London, E.3.**

I WRITE to endorse Ron Huzzard's appeal to your readers to withhold support from the misguided Voters' Veto campaign to which I regret to see you have lent your support. I am a pacifist and a conscientious objector and I fully endorse such direct action as Swaffham. I am a pacifist because I am a Christian, and for the same reason I am also a socialist and active in the Labour movement.

Those who advocate vote withholding are presumably indicating that, either they have no convictions on any issue other than on nuclear disarmament, or that they think all other issues insignificant. I accept of course the supreme urgency of this issue, but I also realise support for the policy we desire will only come by the slow process of converting others to our way of thinking. There is a real chance of a change of policy in only one of the major parties, the Labour Party.

I also happen to believe that such issues as economic expansion and full support and full employment, welfare and pensions, colonial development and education are not insignificant. I want a government that will help us to progress towards a truly socialist society and one which, even if not yet prepared to take unilateral action on nuclear armaments (a policy which the majority of people unfortunately but undoubtedly do not yet support), is still likely to direct its foreign policy by principles very different from those which guide many of the leaders and supporters of our present government.

I shall therefore, in common happily with the overwhelming majority of my pacifist friends and acquaintances, vote Labour at the next election.—**JOHN PREVETT, Station House, Redhill, Surrey.**

Hospitality wanted

WOULD any of your readers like to offer hospitality to a child, preferably in the school holidays?

Each year Family Service Units—a voluntary organisation with centres in many parts of the country—arranges holidays in private homes for children from the families it is assisting. They are families who are so overwhelmed by their problems and so unable to make use of the normal social services that the welfare and future of their children is in danger.

Family Service Units attempts to help the parents cope with their many difficulties by their own efforts. With people at the end of their tether, this may be a long process, and in the meantime a holiday in a good home and happy surroundings can be of real benefit to the children. Unfortunately we are not able to offer payment but we do meet fares.

Offers should be sent to me at the above address, and I shall be pleased to supply further information on request.—**DAVID JONES, Secretary FSU, 25, St. Mary's Grove, London, N.1.**

Reginald Reynolds

I FEEL it's my duty to write these few lines, asking your kindness to publish this letter of sympathy to all abroad, friends and relatives of the late Friend Reginald Reynolds.

Surely death has no shame; it has laid its cold hands to a man that was not fit to die. These meetings with him were evidently a time of very precious visitation from the Lord. We fear God, but still we give glory to His name.

This man was a man with deep love for his people, even for an African child. Some years back he visited S. Africa, for some purpose; he never failed to come to Moroka Shanty-town to see African children. His love was so deep that when he reached England he collected some funds to help them. The children and I have *lost* a sincere friend. The man waited on the teachings of the Holy Spirit. His concern for the people at large did not decrease him. He was often refreshed by the fellowship of mothers, fathers, brothers and sisters in Christ: children more dear and precious to his best life.

Bells of heaven have tolled for the man who *did* to others, not for himself alone.

When I readthe Quakers' Journal of this month I wept bitterly, because he wrote to me when he was on the way to Australia and told me he was coming back in April. He is free from pains; his soul is swallowed up in the love of Christ.

He has been contented to do His will. This man was a man who shared his labour for others. O, what amazement I am filled with! Sorrow has taken hold of me. But, as the Divine has done this we bow in reverence before Him.

I hope all friends shall be deeply fixing their minds to God to help us to bear up our future trials. The Good Shepherd has led him to that *home;* let us all try to follow the footsteps of his Saviour.

I hope the chorus of these children he looked after who are now near the throne of God dispel the loneliness of his grave.

This sympathy is passed to all who knew him. From Sunday School children and the Nursery Schools of Jabavu and Moroka, nr. Johannesburg.—**CAROLINE MAVUSO, 2187 Xuma Road, P.O. Dube Village, Transvaal.**

Caroline Mavuso is the "Shanty Town Heroine" about whom Reginald Reynolds wrote in Peace News in 1953. Her determination secured a nursery school and welfare aids for the squatters' children at Moroka. Peace News readers contributed a bathroom.—[ED.].

DIARY

As this is a free service we reserve the right to select for publication notices sent in. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore urge organisers of events to:

1. Send notices to arrive first post Mon.

2. Include Date, **TOWN, Time, Place** (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address).

Friday, April 3

EPSOM: 7.45 p.m.; Myers Hall, Ashley Rd. Free Film Show. Portrait of Power; Swaffham; African Conflict; Japanese Fishermen. Epsom and District Peace Fellowship.

HULL: 7.30 p.m.; 6 [illegible] St. Group Mtg. PPU.

LANCASTER: 7.30 [illegible]m.; Committee Room A, Town Hall. Lecture and Film Show by John Barclay, "International Help for Children." Int. College of Paxology.

LONDON, N.13: 8 p.m.; Bowes Park Meth. Ch., Bowes Rd. "Nuclear Knowledge and Christian Responsibilities" Discussion. Meth. Peace Fell.

LONDON, S.W.1: 7.30 p.m.; Caxton Hall. Danilo Dolci—The Gandhi of Sicily. Speakers: Tom Driberg, Ricardo Aragno. Chair: Prof. Ross Waller. Readings from Dolci's works. Danilo Dolci Cttee.

LONDON, S.W.6: 7.30 p.m. Fulham Town Hall. Benn Levy, Diana Collins. CND.

Saturday, April 4

LONDON, W.C.2: 7 p.m. Rm. 31, Kingsway Hall. "Making Disarmament an Election Issue," a mtg. for all who want to work for Unilateral Disarmament Candidates at General Election. Prospective candidates will speak. Fellowship Party.

Monday, April 6

BRIGHTON: 7.30 p.m. 25 Vernon Terr. Group mtg. and discussion future activities. PPU.

GRAVESEND: 8 p.m. Co-op Hall, Harmer St. Peter Kirk, MP v. Mervyn Jones (for the Campaign). CND.

Tuesday, April 7

ROMFORD: 7.45 p.m. Wykeham Hall, Market Place. Discussion on Non-Violence. PPU.

WATFORD: 8 p.m. Town Hall. Fenner Brockway, MP, James Robertson Justice. Chair: Rev. Raymond H. Norman. CND.

Wednesday, April 8

ALTON: 7.30 p.m.; Assembly Rooms, High St. Film Show on Racial Questions. Opened by Coun. W. H. Shipley. PPU, Free Church Council and Rural Decanal Conference.

LONDON, S.W.3: 8 p.m. Chelsea Town Hall. Film Show opened by Benn Levy. Tickets 1s. CND.

LONDON, S.W.1: 6 p.m. Caxton Hall. Memorial Mtg. for Barbara Duncan Harris. R. W. Sorensen, Agnes Stapledon, Robert Davis, Mary Nuttall, Kenneth Ingram, Marian Billson. Chair: Sybil Morrison. WILPF.

Wednesday to Saturday, April 8 to 11

BATH: 10 a.m.-8 p.m. (3 p.m.-8 p.m. on April 8). Friends Mtg. Ho., York St. Exhibition "Nuclear Reality." Films on April 9 and 10 at 7 and 8.25 p.m. Aldermaston, Swaffham, Japanese Fishermen, One World or None. Architects Group CND.

Thursday, April 9

LONDON, E.11: 8 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd. Wallace Hancock on his pamphlet, "Direct Action." PPU.

Friday, April 10

LONDON, S.W.1: 7.30 p.m. Caxton Hall. Lecture "Hinduism, Old and New" by Swami Avyaktananda. Vedanta Movement.

LONDON, W.8: 10.30 a.m. and 1.15 p.m. Town Hall, High St., Kensington. CO Tribunal.

Monday, April 13

BIRMINGHAM: 8 p.m. 221 Vicarage Rd., Kings Heath. Everyone urged attend AGM of Kings Heath and Cotteridge PPU.

LONDON, S.W.1: 10.30 a.m. and 2.15 p.m. Ebury Bridge Ho., Ebury Bridge Rd. CO Appeal Tribunal.

Wednesday, April 15

KENDAL: 7.30 p.m. Bindloss Room, Town Hall. Rev. Tom Wardle in the Chair. Speakers from CND.

MANSFIELD: 7.15 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Quaker Lane. Max Parker "A Christian in Russia." FoR.

Thursday, April 16

BRISTOL 7: 7.30 p.m. Horfield Friends Mtg. Ho., 300 Gloucester Rd., Bishopston. John Mutseriwa (Deputy Head Master of the School at St. Faith's Mission and Inter-Racial Farm, S. Rhodesia). Fellowship of Friends of Truth.

LONDON, E.11: 8 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd. Mrs. Richardson "Yugoslavia." PPU.

LONDON, N.13: 8 p.m. 33 Devonshire Rd., Palmers Green. Allen Skinner "Social Implications of Pacifism." PPU.

Friday-Sunday, April 17 to 19

BEWDLEY, WORCS: Manor Ho. Annual Conf. Chief Speaker Dr. Douglas Latto. Apply Vivian Worthington, Garthnewydd Community Ho., Brecon Rd., Merthyr Tydfil, Glam. Fellowship of Friends of Truth.

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Every week!

SUNDAYS

LONDON: 3 p.m. Hyde Park. Speaker's Corner. Pacifist Forum, PYAG.

TUESDAYS

MANCHESTER: 1-2 p.m. Deansgate Blitz Site. Christian Pacifist open-air meeting. MPF.

WEDNESDAYS

LONDON, N.4: 7 p.m. Peace News Office, 3 Blackstock Rd. Pacifist Youth Action Group.

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Around the world's colonial trouble-spots

Welensky weights the odds

By FENNER BROCKWAY MP

Chairman, Movement for Colonial Freedom

CENTRAL AFRICA remains the most critical scene in the surge to freedom in the fading British Empire. It will continue to be so until the Constitutional Conference, which is to open in October of next year, is concluded. The parts in the drama are now being decided.

The stage is being set to weight the decisions against the Africans. This is the explanation of what has happened in Nyasaland. Dr. Banda and the Congress wanted constitutional changes in their territory before 1960 so that the will of the people for secession from the European-dominated Federation might be reflected in Nyasaland's delegation. Britain's Tory Government has held up the changes for nine months.

Thus, although the population of Nyasaland is overwhelmingly in favour of independence from the Welensky-controlled Rhodesias, it will be represented at the conference (unless a Labour Government is elected in Britain in time to change the Lennox-Boyd plan) by a delegation which will strive to tie it to the Federation.

The second part of this plan was to ensure a Government in Northern Rhodesia which would cast its vote for continued Federation. The Constitutional changes there permitted the minority Europeans to obtain two-thirds of the seats in the Legislature, and practically excluded any except "moderate" Africans from being nominated.

For example, any African candidate had to be endorsed by the Chiefs, which involved two difficulties. First, the candidate had to reach the Chiefs (John Stonehouse says that in one case a candidate had to cycle 400 miles) and, secondly, since the Chiefs are salaried servants of the Government, they would not look kindly on anyone unacceptable to the Establishment. Even so, because there were three European parties, Sir Roy Welensky's United Federal Party did not gain an absolute majority.

Nevertheless, the Governor has appointed five of the members of this Party to the Executive Council and the sixth, an independent African, will be required to vote with them. Thus, the Northern Rhodesian delegation at the 1960 conference will vote for the maintenance of the European-coloured Federation, and, no doubt, for its sovereign status!

There is, however, the chance that the British delegation may stand out against the claims of the European die-hards.

Labour is committed up to the hilt to refuse sovereign recognition to any Central African Federation which is not based on democracy including African political rights. I am hopeful that the Labour Party will go a step further and that it will recognise the right of Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia to secede by some form of democratic self-determination.

KENYA DEATHS

As I write, the inquest on the deaths of the eleven detainees in the Kenya detention camp is still proceeding. The case is therefore *sub-judice* and I cannot comment. I content myself by quoting what Mrs. Barbara Castle said in the House of Commons:

"Is it not a fact that the Kenya police authorities have testified that the deaths of these eleven men were caused by violence? Is it not also a fact that local officials attempted to cover this up by saying that the men died from poisoned water? . . . Is it not time to take the inquiries out of the hands of the Kenya Government and to establish an independent judicial inquiry sent from this country to inquire into the whole detention camp situation in Kenya?"

CONGO INQUEST

There are phrases in the report of the Belgian Parliamentary Inquiry into the Congo disturbances which apply to most African territories with European settler communities. It says the causes include the extreme disparity of incomes between blacks and whites, "the scorn of the average white settler for the black," and the catastrophic unemployment due to the copper slump. It expresses disquiet over alleged cruelty by the settlers' militia in contrast with the discipline of the regular troops. I fear there is too much complacency about the future. The report urges a slow, but sure, evolution towards independence "in good order and with a respect for private property." It is clear that the chief need is respect for human equality.

TIBET'S REVOLT

Any comment on colonial affairs must include reference to two territories in Asia.

It is not fully clear what has happened in Tibet (so isolated from Northern India that the nearest newspaper correspondent was 200 miles away); but there has evidently been a large-scale revolt against the Chinese occupation. Constitutionally China has rights in Tibet. Britain recognised Peking's sovereignty way back in 1914, but because of her preoccupation with war and civil war no effective Chinese administration was established. Only in 1950 did Communist China take over, building roads, schools, clinics.

The Communists did not at first challenge the power of the Dalai Lama, the spiritual head of the State, and of the Buddhist monks who dominate the life of the people; but a conflict has recently developed. When the Dalai Lama was summoned to a theatrical performance staged by the Chinese military command the people believed he would be kidnapped; they surrounded his palace to protect him; they clashed with Communist forces. The Supreme Tibetan Cabinet then denounced its treaty with China, proclaimed Tibet independent, and called on the Chinese occupation forces to withdraw.

The Chinese reported last week-end that the rebellion had been crushed in the capital, but those who believe in national liberty cannot leave the matter there. Alien occupation against the will of a people must be condemned whether it is by East or West. There is no reason why Chiang Kai Shek should intervene from distant Formosa; but one would like to see India or a group of neutral nations offering their services to bring about a just settlement. The stupid exclusion of China from the United Nations prejudices what would otherwise be the most appropriate authority to assist.

MALDIVES ACCUSE RAF

The second Asian territory claiming independence is a small group of Maldive Islands 400 miles South-West of Ceylon. When Ceylon became independent and gave Britain notice to remove her air base, an agreement was negotiated with the Maldivian Government, an autonomous British Protectorate, for an RAF staging post on Gaw Island. Recently, a "rebellion" was reported in the island which the Maldivian Government say was instigated by RAF officers. They asked for the withdrawal of Major W. W. A. Phillips.

The truth about this charge we don't know, but the Maldivian Government are now insisting that they be recognised as a sovereign and independent State.

A Maldivian delegate has arrived in London to put their case to Members of Parliament. It looks as though this is another case for an independent enquiry.

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MEETINGS

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PERSONAL

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SPEAKING AND WRITING lessons (correspondence, visit) 5s. Dorothy Matthews, BA, 32 Primrose Hill Road, London, N.W.3. PRImrose 5686.

LITERATURE

CONTACT—a South African Liberal fortnightly with inside news of the struggle against apartheid and colonialism. 6 months 12s., 12 months £1 3s. 6d. Box 1979, Cape Town, South Africa.

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Michael Scott on BBC

The Rev. Michael Scott, "whose vigorous advocacy of non-violence has so often made news" (to quote a BBC handout), is to appear in "Meeting Point" on Sunday, April 12.

He will be questioned by a businessman, an actor and a QC.

On the next night Dr. Donald Soper will discuss the H-bomb, rocket sites and the rights and wrongs of the use of force with Sir Kenneth Pickthorne of Corpus Christi College and members of a UNESCO seminar being held in London.

On Tuesday, April 14, a play about England ten years after an H-bomb war—"The Off-shore Island"—by Marghanita Laski, will be shown.

WEAPONS PROVIDE WORK
WAR ECONOMY

Peace News Reporter

UNEMPLOYMENT in Britain is being met in the worst possible way—by stepping up arms production.

The total number of unemployed fell further in February than in any month since 1947. This was announced by the Minister of Labour, Mr. Macleod, during the House of Comomns debate on unemployment on March 18.

Government supporters cheered. The Press made so much noise that the remaining 550,000 unemployed were forgotten. Nobody asked awkward questions—until someone looked a little further.

The question was raised last week when Mr. Reginald Prentice, MP, asked the Minister of Defence "to what extent the re-equipment of the forces is being planned in relation to the employment situation."

"How far," he asked specifically, had orders "been speeded up to help relieve the high current rate of unemployment," and how far were they "being directed whenever possible to areas of heavy unemployment?"

In a written reply Mr. Duncan Sandys confirmed that "the considerations which the hon. Member has in mind are, so far as practicable, taken into account in the placing of orders for the Armed Forces.

"In recent months," the Minister continued, "equipment to the value of some £6,500,000 has been ordered ahead of the normal time in order to assist in relieving unemployment."

In the United States such practice has been taken for granted in an attempt to meet an unemployment problem on a far vaster scale.

In his State of the Union message to the new Congress on January 9, President Eisenhower admitted that "national security programmes" accounted for nearly 60 per cent of the entire Federal budget.

"Modern weapons are exceedingly expensive," he explained. The overall cost of introducing the Atlas into our armed forces will average $35,000,000 per missile on the firing line.

"This year we are investing close on $7,000,000,000 in missile programmes alone. . . We are now ordering fighter craft which are priced at fifty times as much as the fighters of World War II. We are buying certain bombers which cost their weight in gold."

The fantastic amount of work being rushed through on these weapons has saved the US Government from an unemployment figure far worse than 5,000,000.

Black sash vigil

A DAY and night vigil by women wearing black sashes was due to start outside Downing Street as Peace News went to press.

Organised by students, together with the Movement for Colonial Freedom, the vigil will protest against events in Nyasaland and call for an end to Central African Federation.

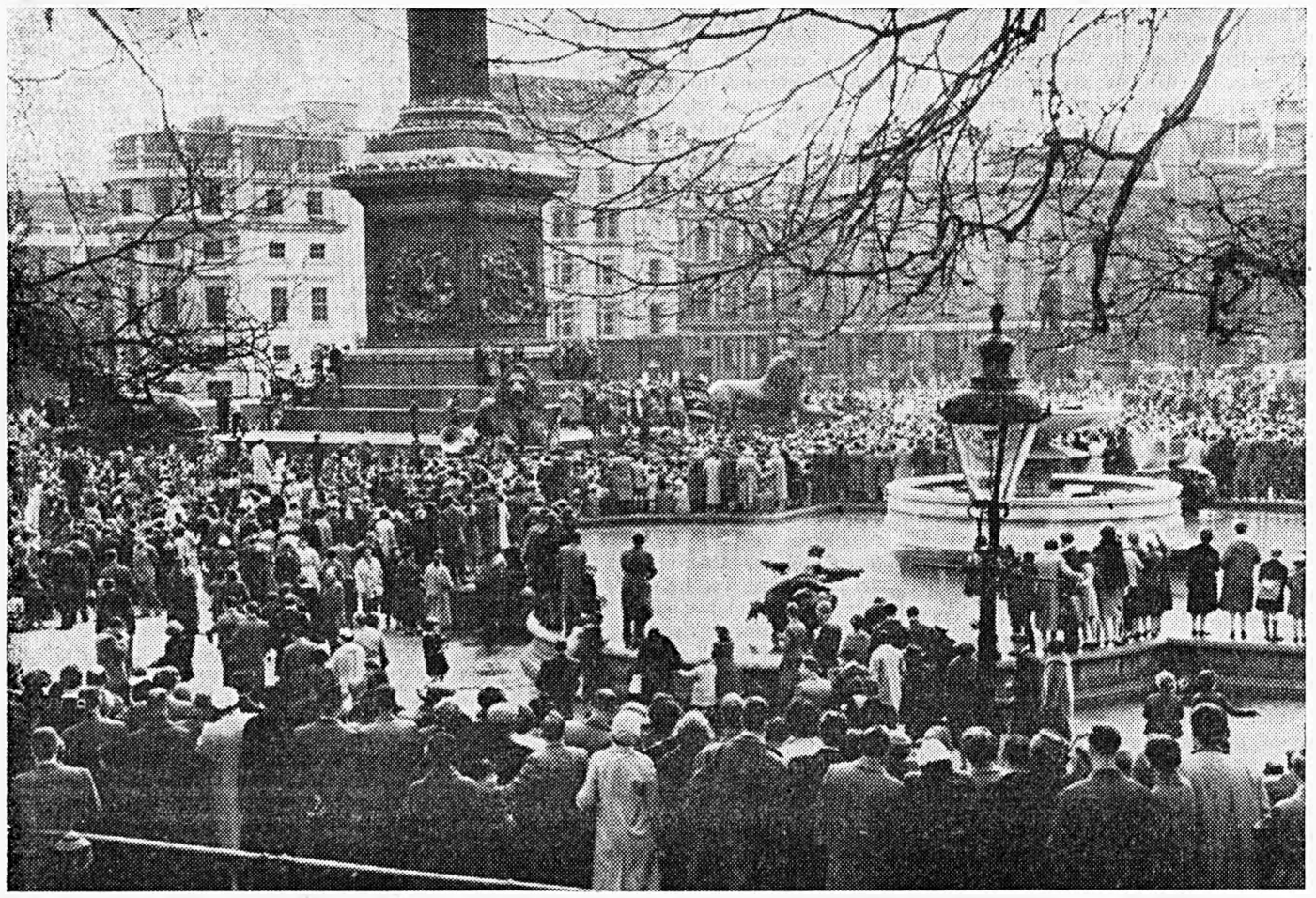
The vigil is planned to finish at 3 p.m. today (Friday) with the presentation of a memorandum of protest at the Prime Minister's residence.

Methodist peace rally

THE biggest hall in Bristol has been booked for a Methodist peace rally next July. Dr. Soper will be speaking, also the new President and Vice-President of the Methodist Conference, the Rev. Dr. Eric Baker and Professor Coulson. Both are pacifists.

BRITISH TO HELP DOLCI

THE work which Signor Dolci is doing on behalf of the poor and illiterate of Sicily and the ways in which the British people can help will be the subject of a meeting at the Caxton Hall, London, at 7.30 tonight, Friday evening, April 3. Speakers will be Prof. Ross Waller, Tom Driberg and Riccardo Aragno (London correspondent of La Stampa). The meeting is organised by the Danilo Dolci Committee, 29, Great James Street, London, W.C.1 (CHA 3228).



The end of the Aldermaston march was three and a half miles away as the leading banner entered Trafalgar Square on Easter Monday.

By Sybil Morrison

THE GIGANTIC 'IF'

I agree that it is unlikely that Russia has any design to invade and occupy the Western World, but you can't say that about Hitler. He intended to dominate the world. Don't you think, if we had had nuclear weapons in 1938 there would have been no Second World War? —Question in Manette Street. March, 1959.

IT has sometimes been said to me by fellow pacifists, that young people today are not interested in the Hitler war, but only in the present "cold war," and want to know the pacifist answers to that situation.

I have not, however, found this to be true; I have never left an open-air meeting without at least one question, and usually many more than one, as to what pacifists would have done against Hitler. It is the one overwhelmingly important problem, simply because it seems so clear to the questioner, who states the case for the majority, that the complete and ruthless violence of Hitler's dictatorship could not be answered by anything but an equal ruthlessness.

The fact that in the early days of the Russian revolution there was equally ruthless imprisonment in Siberian camps, and deliberate liquidation of tens of thousands of unwanted people, has not made such an impact upon the mind of even those who deplored the revolution in itself, as the remembrance of Hitler's concentration camps, and gas chambers.

It is always difficult to get people to understand that pacifism is not a magic panacea for saving the militarists from a problem of their own fashioning; yet, the truth is that pacifism has no answer to problems that arise directly from reliance upon the method of war, other than that the method must be discarded, and so far as Hitler was concerned, to show that he was the direct and quite logical and inevitable consequence of reliance upon war and preparation for war.

Hypothetical questions are inevitable when discussing these matters, and it is, of course, purely hypothetical to argue that Hitler would not have gone to war if there had been arsenals of nuclear weapons ranged against him, for the very simple reason that nuclear weapons were derived directly from the ruthless determination to achieve victory over Japan by concentrated attack upon populations.

In the same way as Hitler did not appear in isolation, but derived directly from the mistakes and injustices of the First World War peace treaties, and the arrogance and intransigence of the victors, so nuclear weapons have not appeared in isolation, but have arisen from the need to use the discoveries of science for the purposes of war.

It is now known that German scientists in 1945 were nearing the solution of the problem of how to split the atom, and had they beaten America in that race for knowledge, there can be no doubt that the A-bomb would have been used against the Allies. There seems no reason to suppose that Hitler would have held back from moral or humane reasons, if Churchill and Truman did not. Victory was the plea then, and victory is the plea now.

The implication in the question, also, of course, holds the belief that nuclear weapons are an overwhelming deterrent against war, but the fact remains, nevertheless, that there would be no nuclear weapons if there had been no Second World War. To defeat Japan, the discoveries of science, which could, and indeed should have been used for the benefit of mankind, were turned to the total destruction of ordinary men and women.

The atom bomb, added to the difficulties connected with keeping its discovery and use secret from the USSR, then an ally of the West, led directly to the use of nuclear power for bombs and rockets, instead of products for better and easier living.

The race in these weapons has eventually reached a stalemate, and it is possible that this stalemate, this equality in horror weapons, has had an urgent effect upon statesmen to negotiate rather than fight, but, nevertheless, negotiations must be precarious and uncertain with such a hideous and menacing background.

It is not reasonable to discuss how Hitler could have been deterred by this gigantic *IF*, since the necessity for defeat of Hitler and his allies made the H-bomb inevitable. It is only necessary to follow carefully the history of the past 50 years to see clearly that weapons cannot be taken in isolation any more than Hitler can be taken in isolation. They both belong to war, and it is war that must go.

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